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subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winuina*.[1] It, too, brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noăkynum* and *Winuina* can easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winuina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winăs di Să-lldjo-ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winăs di Qsla*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxlo-xl'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxlo-xl'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sxlo-xl'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from *Sxlo-xl'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has happened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore

[1] Cf. Boas, p. 36.

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of the ocean, one of the members is awakened by the rhythmical beat of the paddles of the War-Party of the Tide. If he is wise he at once calls out, "*Hi* . . . ." This serves to keep the War-Party at a distance, and to waken the rest of the party who hastily throw on the fire objects which have been in contact with the human body.

Many stories are told by the Bella Coola of the appearance of the War-Party of the Tide. The following can be regarded as typical.

A few years ago, a hunter named *Oulkstl*, and his wife, *Anuqwiàls*, were encamped on Labouchere Channel at the point known as *Nuxqul*, near the Hot Springs. They were discussing a private matter when, to the amazement of both, their dog, who was with them, joined in the conversation. This unnatural behaviour should have warned them of approaching danger and they ought to have killed the animal, as indeed the woman desired to do. But *Oulkstl* foolishly refused and presently they lay down to sleep. In some mysterious manner the dog was able to summon the War-Party of the Tide, which carried the two away. When they awoke they were in the dread canoe, and the poison from *Xalo-al'* was spreading over them. They were powerless and could only lie still as the canoe travelled up South Bentinck Arm, circled the island near *Tàl-is* at its head, and three other islands on the return journey. The two were put ashore at their camp, apparently unharmed, but they knew the danger to which they had been exposed and fled next day to Kimsquit. The woman told a shaman what had happened and accepted his somewhat drastic treatments. Consequently, though she showed signs of insanity, she was cured. The headstrong *Oulkstl*, on the other hand, refused to pay attention to the danger; within a few weeks he became crazy, and then died.

Quite another category of Bella Coola supernatural beings consists of ghosts. These beings, once human, have passed by death into the ranks of the supernatural. Their home is the land below the earth, where they live like mortals except that everything is strange and ethereal. In form they resemble human beings, but their faces are green and weird. They can visit the land of the living at will, and make their presence known by whistling, which is their language. Their actions are the reverse of those of humans; for example, they often

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talons resembling, but larger than, those of an eagle. It has no tail. The great strength of these animals rests in the fact that their eyes revolve in their sockets, so that, when reversed, piercing beams shoot forth which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. Having thus stunned its victim, the *sminiq* picks him up and stuffs him into a broad-mouthed basket, carried on the back. It is provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards so that a person thrust within cannot climb out. Human beings are carried in this way to the beast's lair, a cave in the mountains, where they are devoured at leisure. Wolves always accompany *sminiq*; in fact, they may almost be termed attendants upon them (see vol. II, chap. v). Like other supernatural creatures, *sminiq* are impervious to most mortal weapons, but there is one method of overcoming them. If a hunter cut himself on the under side of his right leg so that the blood flows freely, and smears a bullet with this, it can kill a *sminiq*. Similar success is gained by biting the tongue and coating the bullet with blood so obtained.

Another animal which is rendered powerless by the same charm is the *bəqs*. This beast somewhat resembles a man, its hands especially, and the region around the eyes being distinctly human. It walks on its hind legs, in a stooping posture, its long arms swinging below the knees; in height it is rather less than the average man. The entire body, except the face, is covered with long hair, the growth being most profuse on the chest which is large, corresponding to the great strength of the animal. The most peculiar feature of the animal is its penis, which is so long that it must be rolled up and carried in the arms when the creature is walking; it terrifies its enemies by striking tree-trunks and breaking branches with its uncoiled organ. It is said that a woman was once drawing water at the edge of a stream when a *bəqs*, concealed on the other shore, extended its penis under the water to the further bank and held intercourse with her. The contact rendered her powerless, as if turned to stone; she could neither flee nor remove the organ. Her companions tried unsuccessfully to

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and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *kāhnk'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *kaohao*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Hao, hao, hao,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures representing them are often used at *kusiut* dances. The *kaohao* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped at the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *kaohao* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

No *kaohao* has been seen within recent years, but one informant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

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been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The woman threw on their fire several soiled blankets, her only pair of shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural animals just described are fairly exact; they know their appearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of indefinite form which they term *snusɣ*. Any supernatural creature, a *bäbnk'* for example, is spoken of as a *snusɣ* in general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one Bella Coola may describe as a *snusɣ* is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be learnt, there is no designation other than *snusɣ* for creatures which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these creatures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to the beholder. One of the haunts of *snusɣ* is beneath the glacier on Mount *Oƛwan·i*, behind the small mountain which rises behind *Ɫomɣo·ts*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the power of the *snusɣ* had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village.

Other *snusɣ* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of

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539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 776 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

[825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them. 539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural 761 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 776 lowing incident illustrates this point.

825 The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 776 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
● 789 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the
[781] Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *snuuq*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings.[39]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Ălquntăm* created men and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

[39] This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xi.

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forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Ałquntäm*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Ałquntäm* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snusx*, *snunq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Ałquntäm*. Likewise, when a *snusx* or a *snunq* is outwitted by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature:

Ḵwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Ṗa·s*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḵwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḵwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḵwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

Ḵwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Alquntăm* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[21] ascends

[21] *Xumdmoḵs*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body."[183] Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

"Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[183] "There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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776 824 (II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

776 823 Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Ălquntăm*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

539 776 823 In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *snuiq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its [789] normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded.

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped.

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness,

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775 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Ănukăldimut kuskao*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[756] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [753] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [789] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. XI).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

831 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *sxetsta*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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831 ence was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been
785 driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times
[773] it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chas-
[789] tity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his
[789] boat, none the worse for his mishap. The men who cited this instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella
[124] Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only
[783] potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

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428 553 [578] influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[6] None the less, it [614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 869 [614] In former days it was customary to create a "remembrancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her anus to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation [789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the [553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

578 428 614 553 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible property in *kusiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. 2). Ancestral

[6] At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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assistant blows a whistle, sounding like an eagle. When the figure has disappeared into the back-room, the heralds discuss with one another in a loud tone of voice how that was the form in which the initiate's ancestor appeared long ago. At the present time there is uncertainty concerning the proper ritual connected with the appearance of the *tutwinam* at this juncture.

A senior *sisaok* then calls on X to bring forward goods, "to shield our eyes from the supernatural being." These articles, part of which may have been provided by relatives of the initiate, are piled beside those brought forward by X's wife, which may also have come from the same source.

The singers strike up the second song of the initiate; again he appears and dances to it, then vanishes into the rear room.

The two assortments of goods are now distributed. First, those provided by X are presented to the singers who composed the songs for the initiates, to the carpenters who made the masks, the heralds, and announcers, and any others who have assisted; if any remain they are presented to the stranger-guests. Then the goods which are "mats for the dancer's feet" are distributed, entirely to the guests, and are said to have "become nothing" or to have "flowed away" in the transaction. Neither set of goods is returnable. These presents validate in the eyes of the guests, the right of the initiate to membership in the *sisaok* society.

Then a second, third, or fourth neophyte is called out, one at a time, and the same procedure is repeated.[21] In distributing the goods, efforts are made to remember those guests who received nothing at the first distribution.

Toward dawn, one of the important chiefs, it is immaterial which one, calls out:

"I want a *siki*."

It is understood that for this part of the ceremony a foreign expert is required, and one such comes forward according to previous arrangement. He retires to the back-room and re-

[21] Though desirable, it is seldom possible for all the initiates to dance on the same night.

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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *sisaok* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse.

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *sisaok* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *sisaok* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those

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watching either the masked dancer or a representation of the deceased. Usually, the feet are plainly visible, and the spectators cannot fail to realize they are looking, not at an eagle or other supernatural creature, but at a man. Yet no one ever expresses this doubt. It must be remembered that all are firmly convinced of the close relationship existing between denizens of the land above and members of the *nusok* society. To the uninitiated this is proved by the whistling. They regard the figures as supernaturally endowed representations of those beings with whom the participants are able to come in contact. A sophisticated Bella Coola likened their attitude to that of a man praying before images of the saints, fully realizing that these are only inanimate statues, yet mentally experiencing a feeling of close contact with the saints themselves. Another expressed it thus:

"The uninitiated are trained to believe what they see. It would be most improper for them to voice any doubts, in fact they do not have any, so firm is their belief in the supernatural power of the members of the *nusok* society."

This last appears to be the real explanation. Everyone must have his or her doubts, but each is afraid to express them, realizing that so doing would not only offend the chiefs, as individuals, but the supernatural powers with whom they are in touch, which is obvious from the whistling that accompanies the ceremony. It appears that the uninitiated have no idea how this is produced.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES AND OBSERVATIONS

The number of *nusok* initiates is usually too great to allow all to dance on one night. If possible, this is done; but if not, on the following evening more of the initiates perform in the manner already described. The distribution of presents and the expulsion of power from the young *nusok* also follow the same lines. If many of them are secluded, three, or even four, nights may be required until the last one has danced, and the last cleansing has been performed.

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There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *sisaok* could thenceforth live in it, and no *kusiut* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with everlessening intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *siki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are catamenial cedar-bark pads.

The *siki* covers the young men with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire according to some informants.

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with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have "become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation, whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alquntâm* as expressed to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special name; others, lacking these, created them through their own enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents, his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed professional name has been able to perform the functions of the prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely an addition to those of ancestral, *kusiut*, *sisaok*, and other types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case, the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the opportunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

In the beginning of time, *Alquntâm* is said to have sent down with *Ĕsil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Kemsquit*,

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Sīlowawuk-nimāx-a*, another is *Ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

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"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

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THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal of them of professional names. At the present time, it is

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bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*, which are said to have been imported from the north in early times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl, who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adolescent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Between the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is

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the most *kamaw* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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763 [824] to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

963 776 [789] When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Skwanā-ăn-ā*, "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

763 825 A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the *kwakwas*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *kwakwas* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*hi-i*." On the night of February 20, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

[1] The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

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Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[989] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
[761] the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

768 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[24] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[761] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[784] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

764 The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
[614] of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away from a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.[45] It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kinsquit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

[45] The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw.

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owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity. When obtained, a *sɔsiutl* was cut into small pieces, one of which worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

Sometimes the *sɔsiutl* assumes the form of either a spring or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *sɔsiutl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *sɔsiutl*.

The *sɔsiutl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *sɔsiutl*. When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond, wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth.

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ălukwala* or an *ăskankots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures

[1] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

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755 offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when
* 756 he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he
[825] ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed, cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

755 (6) Another method is by making a present to *T̈itcăp-*
* 756 *lilăn·a*. The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs,
782 wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-bark. When these are ready, all assemble to witness the curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks. He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces
● [789] of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire. Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none could give any information as to the method. If actually carried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *T̈itcăplilăn·a* who, pleased to

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such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter.

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger.

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed.

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

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uninitiated, who readily believed his claim that what he had drunk had changed to blood. Again the performer asked his assistant to bring in some water which he poured into the empty section of the other box, of which the other half contained eagle down. *Ninitsamlaix* moved to and fro, shaking the box to spill some of the liquid, and then announced that there was so much he could not drink it all, but would pour some on the fire. As before, he tilted the opposite side of the box, so that, instead of water, the eagle down came floating forth. The uninitiated, firmly convinced that the performer was endowed with supernatural power, never suspected that they were being deceived.

For her performance a female shaman once split a long, green stick, and gouged out the centre, so that it formed a narrow tube-like receptacle in which she laid a piece of undyed cedar-bark covered with eagle down. With wooden pegs she fastened the stick together so that it appeared to be an ordinary branch. When ready to perform, the woman asked some people to pile more wood on the fire, and, among others, an accomplice threw on the prepared stick with its butt protruding at the edge of the flames. As the fire blazed fiercely the female shaman danced; then the assistant announced that she wished to draw something from the flames, whereupon the woman seized the end of the cedar-bark from its enclosure in the projecting butt of the stick, and drew it forth. The uninitiated, ignorant of the prepared stick, were greatly impressed and puzzled as to how such inflammable material could have been in a fire without being consumed.

Ninitsamlaix used his skill as a carpenter to carry out elaborate tricks. On one occasion he sawed the boards surrounding the smoke vent of his house, and fixed them with skin hinges so that they could be raised by ropes from outside the building. To show his supernatural power he threw several large baskets up towards the roof. As he did so his assistants outside pulled the ropes so that the opening was enlarged and allowed the baskets to pass through. In the gloom of the house

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the spectators could not see the manner in which the hole was increased in size. It had been too small to permit the passage of the baskets at the time they were thrown, and it was still the same size after the feat was accomplished; hence supernatural means must have been employed to force them through the roof. Thus ran the logic of the uninitiated.

An informant, when acting as a *kusiut* spy (II, p. 14), once assisted four accomplices of a shaman who had obtained a stone from one of the lakes above *Nułłeax*. Many landslides fall into this, bringing down stones which are full of holes and float in water. Unless closely examined, the riddling is not evident, so that an ordinary river stone of the same size and colour can easily be confused with it.

Previous to dancing, the shaman had placed a few embers in the recesses of his stone, covered them with pounded cedar-bark, and concealed the object near the fire. When all was ready, he asked the informant, whom the uninitiated did not know to be an accomplice, to fetch him a stone. This he did, bringing one previously chosen as closely resembling the prepared one from the lake. This ordinary stone was passed around among the spectators and then given to the shaman who, unobserved, palmed it off for the other as he began to dance. At intervals he blew on the stone until the embers ignited the dry bark; first smoke appeared, then sparks, and finally a mass of flame. The shaman dropped it as if it had become too hot, choosing the spot where lay the river pebble; and again passed the latter from hand to hand through the audience, who could not understand how flames had been made to appear from an ordinary river stone. The words used for the songs on this occasion did not refer to the feat about to be performed, but to the alleged power given to the performer by *Ťlitcäpliłän-a*.

On another occasion a woman who was a shaman produced an eagle's tail and said that she could make it revolve in a bucket of water, following her steps. She hid the tail, while appearing to cast it into the water, and by means of a con-

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* 756 ● 789 cealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[178] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. [776] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781 789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

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it. The uninitiated are so steeped in the atmosphere of belief that any simple conjuring trick is sufficient to delude them. 781 789

Finally, the following account is here inserted, though the details of the performance could not be learnt.

The father of an elderly Bella Coola was once so sick that no one could help him. He had coughed up blood, eagle down had been heaped on his body, and hope had been abandoned. Then a *sɔiutl* came to him, restoring his health and making him a very powerful shaman. His supernatural visitor had told him to employ his power beneficially, and had further instructed him in the use of a rod wherein it lay. Whenever this man danced, a stick, decorated with bands of cedar-bark wound spirally, was hung horizontally from the roof of his house. He carried one similarly embellished, but smaller, about two and a half feet long and three inches in diameter, having at one end a tuft of bark. During his dance, in which he sang of *sɔiutl*, he went under the suspended stick, held the small one in his hand, blew on one end of it, then threw it up so that it struck the large hanging one. This was presumably done by the tuft of bark folding over and catching in some way. Again he danced and, when underneath where the two sticks were suspended, he jumped up, and caught the lower end of the smaller with his hands. This supported his weight, and he swung back and forth on it until he voluntarily released his grip and dropped. When next he danced at the same spot he held out one hand with palm uppermost beneath the smaller stick; the other was held in front of his mouth pointing towards the suspended one. He blew on the latter as if blowing dust from his hand to the point of contact of the two sticks, and the smaller dropped into his outstretched hand. 756* 789

By means of this stick the shaman could cure diseases. When told in what part of the body the pain was situated he pressed on that part with one end of his stick. Then he carried it to the fire and held in the smoke the end that had been in contact with the sickness. He puffed twice at it with his 755 756*

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mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as theme. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nusqalst* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also decorated, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Tlitc̄ēplilān-a*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

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CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO[1]

Introductory — Causative Medicines — Preventive and Curative Medicines — Sorcerers — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

INTRODUCTORY

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in ideas concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing-line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and

[1]The late Harlan I. Smith has dealt with certain aspects of the subjects treated in this chapter in two articles: "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella-coola" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 27, no. 1, Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 116-121) and "Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia" National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1927, Bulletin 56, pp. 47-68).

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757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born
856 girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
752 so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science, magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows, they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors have done the same for generations. All such acts may be described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the only division that can be made is between those that cause, and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The principle governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
755 cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the human body, which are believed to have such abundant power that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin, or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky, and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on
755 himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
789 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the community, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alquntăm* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been [81.8] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act.
789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result,
[771] they realize the importance of the power of thought. For example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren
[787] mountains. One night, *Alqantăm* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alquntâm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Nusklis* in the beginning of time.

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754 961 ●789 828 [622] would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923, and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 954 828 [538] A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief that a person cannot long survive who has made himself unpopular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives.

[648] When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since [784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

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Curative Measures

medicines of infancy

To Cause Tallness

As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull it out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth:

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while drying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

(1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

(3) Warm the body of an otter, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Friend, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal used.

To Cause Long Life

Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood proved

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itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kinnquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth.

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and petted as his fingers clutch it.

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the root of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates.

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and put this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *omomenash* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying:

"May he be a singer like you."

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *omomenash*'s song:

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In the beginning of time it used to sing.

"I shall see a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has been its bounds on account of the running salmon in it."

The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year, until the bird changed its tune:

"I shall see a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Dentk instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learned.

Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend. The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

To Cause Beauty

Bandages of the softest cedar-bark are prepared for infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened around the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations.

To Cause Leanness:

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal.

To Cause Left-handedness:

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *listrulk* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head.

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp.

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown.

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To Cause Ability in Carpentry (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good carpenter to impart to him ability similar to his own. He spits on his tools and rubs these over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a carpenter."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Cut splinters from the tools of an expert carpenter, burn them, and rub the ashes over the child's hands. This is most effectious when performed by the carpenter himself who says as he rubs:

"Please be a carpenter."

To Cause Ability in Thieving

Indians from the vicinity of Sitka are said to fasten a live mouse in an infant's clothing or tie one in the cradle. This causes the child to amass riches easily, but when practised by a Sitka man and woman who were slaves of the Bella Coola it was so potent that their son grew up to be an inveterate thief.

To Cause Ability to See Beneath the Water

When the infant is in the cradle, kill a gull, cut out its tongue, and rub this around inside the child's mouth. Strip the feathers and lay them so that the infant sleeps upon them. This gives him the same ability as the bird to see beneath the ocean and tell where fish are to be found. This was done not many years ago to a Bella Bella child whose ability was consequently so great that it frightened his friends.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

The Kitlobe achieve this by making a child sleep upon dog hair. No instance is remembered of this having actually been practised by the Bella Coola, although, being well known, there is no reason why it should not be used.

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two:

To Cause Long Life

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, *Alquntām* told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is preserved with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlesaly of them. As the first anniversary of his son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

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ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

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To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's bowl and wash him with these. This causes him to grow up with the strength of the animal.

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Ravens

When a child is able to toddle, but has not learnt to talk, shut him in a box and turn this upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during darkness.

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *ɬkas*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kimsquit man from whom this information was obtained. The slave's father had treated her in this way when an infant; while so confined she had not only learnt the language of ravens, but Cowichan, her own speech, as well. *ɬkas* used to tell the Kimsquit people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Cowichan method, and her captors had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient tradition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the ravens had told her of the near approach of a raiding-party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *ɬkas* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the raiders appeared and she was vindicated.

The inversion of the box is due to the belief that ravens, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like tumbler pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so tight as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Ceremonial Intelligence

When a child is one or two years of age, paint on its back the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in position for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform

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789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
[825] that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes. A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
771 and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntăm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

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Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely.

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery

Place the foetus of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat

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825 of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength
789 of the animal he has just slain.
856 (2) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the
[774] bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is lashed in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(3) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two sent to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(4) When an octopus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Those present say:

"Please, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad sent to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the last, this medicine is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability in River Work

Fasten a boy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Lift it out when it has gone

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beneath the surface, and throw it in a second time. Repeat this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the last medicine, this is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since beaver are unfavourable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them.

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father beats him lightly, four times, with a rope-end. This is done in the early morning, then he takes his son to wash immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a parent should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to wash with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour.

This practice has long been discontinued and it was impossible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when *kusiut* dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is improbable that a father rose every fourth

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789 856 morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

MEDICINES APPLIED TO YOUNG DOGS

789 231 *To Cause Ability in Hunting*

When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and rub it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Beaver

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of hand-clapping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting beaver.

To Cause Disregard of Musket Shots

Lay some black powder at the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of musket shots.

To Cause Keen Scent

Slit any kind of salmon so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the salmon. Hold the animal until flies have gathered from all directions to feast upon the fish and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to locate game in any direction, just as flies gather wherever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. One [424] old man stated that this medicine was the property of an ancestral family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

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To Cause Ability in Hunting Mountain Goats

Steep the freshly removed head of a fisher, wolf, or wolverine in smoke for four days. Break a hole in the top of the skull and hold the puppy's head over this; then slit its nose so that the blood drips down into the interior of the cranium. Release the dog, take the head to the mountains and bury it in the ground beneath a spot where mountain goats have been sleeping. Dig it up four days later and conceal it under a shelving rock where it is protected from the rain.

This medicine causes the dog to grow up with knowledge of the haunts of mountain goats as well as with the bravery of whichever animal was used. This means can be practised only by members of the ancestral families to which it belongs. [424]

To Cause Ability in Hunting Otters or Seals

Obtain the head of whichever is desired, and proceed as described for mountain goats. Instead of burying, place the skull under shelter near a creek much frequented by land otters, or near the ocean where seals are plentiful. It need not be taken up after four days.

To Cause General Ability

This medicine can be applied only by a successful hunter, who expects compensation for his assistance. It is employed when a puppy is about one month old.

Early in the morning the hunter seats himself on a box within the house of the dog's master, his legs stretched out before him. He seizes the puppy firmly and passes it, sunwise, around and under his legs four times, frequently spitting on its nose and kneading it with his hands to make that organ slender. This causes the animal to grow up with good tracking ability, while the passing makes it faithful to its master. Next the hunter seizes the dog by the hind legs and swings it four times, sunwise, over and through the smoke of the fire. This prevents it from being dizzy and afraid of precipitous mountains, but if it yelps as it travels through the air, it will be a poor dog. Finally, the hunter carries it to the river and throws

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789 it in. He seizes as it swims ashore and throws it back once more. This is repeated four times and causes the animal to 231 have no fear of water.

In former times great attention was paid to the training of young dogs.

MEDICINES PERTAINING TO LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND CHILDBIRTH

832 *To Cause Love*

This medicine is applied by women to men, and by men to women.

Obtain a hair of the person whose love is sought, place with it one of the wooer's, and tie the two in a strip of birch-bark together with a morsel of octopus skin. This causes intense desire between the two. This medicine is usually personally applied by amorous youths.

A similar usage is to wear the two hairs next the stomach, hidden by a belt. Men, especially, do this to cause love on the part of girls whom they admire. An old Bella Coola mentioned that he had once had occasion to investigate the box of a Kimsquit man within which he found the tip of a land otter's tail, split, and containing two small tufts of hair, one the owner's, the other, his wife's. This ensured lasting devotion between the two.

To Cause Love for Oneself

A few years ago a certain *Kâlsel* of Kimsquit used the following medicine to attract two sisters:

He made two figures, one representing a male, and the other a female. To each he tied birch-bark, octopus-skin, a few of his own hairs, and some obtained from the girls. Each figure was provided with sexual organs, and he placed them in position for sexual intercourse. This caused the two girls to desire *Kâlsel* so madly that they almost became demented in their infatuation. Their mother, *Kwe'ems*, suspected that *Kâlsel* had been using something of the kind and searched his

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box during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kălotl* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Kwa·ɬsua* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kălotl* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Kwa·ɬsua* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kălotl* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him. 832

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 833

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once. 886 825

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant. 842 789

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

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842 789 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*

If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

843 789 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)

(1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 757 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*

Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 789 825 *To Cause Energy*

Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

"Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 825 886 *To Cause Long Life*

Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:

"May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so ensnared are killed.

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten.

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *aguow i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying:

"May she be a singer like you."

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained.

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire.

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying:

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789 "Please, may it be as it was when you held intercourse."
821 The basis of these medicines is that mountain goats and
825 beaver mate in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimsquit man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He slew a buck and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MALEVOLENT MEDICINES

754 *To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Chastity*
825 Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "cleanness" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.[1]

To Cause Insanity in a W'oman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed muskrat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with muskrats, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

754 *To Cause Disease in a Malefactor*
727 A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

[1] This medicine was learnt from a rather unsatisfactory informant and was not confirmed by others.

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Preventive and Curative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy and Childhood

989 974 843 825 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

(1) As already described (*I*, p. 96), there is always danger of a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing involuntary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to postpone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

843 825 989 [842] [961] [774] (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will die during infancy, though the means by which the slain animals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution.

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten.

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die.

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying:

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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752 *For Fractures*

An effort is made to straighten the limb and to place the ends of the broken bone together in their proper position. If there is considerable swelling, an incision is made, to let blood escape. Hemlock gum is applied freely to the whole region to soften the wound and hold the splints in position. This penetrates the cut, if one has been made, and is believed to facilitate the knitting process. Any small sticks are used for splints.

REMEDIES FOR AILMENTS CAUSED BY SUPERNATURAL OR HUMAN BEINGS

753 Persons suffering from diseases or accidents of the types described in the previous section are not the only ones whom the Bella Coola consider to be sick. A girl at puberty, a mother who has just given birth, a man or woman whose consort has just died, has been placed in a peculiar relation to the supernatural and is in a condition identical to that of one suffering from a disease. The ritual acts prescribed at these crises of life are medicines, just as truly as an herbal potion or a curative treatment. In fact, anyone who has been in close touch with the supernatural is in a critical condition and must act circumspectly, the reason for the taboos observed by shamans.

[illegible] Hunters particularly, and others who are likely to come in contact with supernatural beings, employ a number of medicines to protect themselves or to alleviate the dangers to which they have been exposed. As already described, the most potent of these are articles which have been rendered essentially human by contact with the body. For example, an evil supernatural being such as the *Wee-Pawy* of the Tides can be kept at a distance by casting soiled clothing upon a fire. Even more powerful are stained cedar-bark sanitary napkins. It is remembered that when a Bella Bella lad was treated with a gall so that he could see beneath the ocean, his friends became so alarmed at his tremendous ability that they destroyed it by throwing pads of this kind on a fire built beneath the bed on which he was sleeping. The basis of this medicine is the belief

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NIH Collection [illegible]

that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a enemy, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a cannibal monsoin.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it drives from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a bird trained so that he understands the speech of persons, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with the skill was deadened to the meaning of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboo. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this is

regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about one foot in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The ancients to this law have forgotten within recent years, and patients are usually cured by shamans.

To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost

The ghost of a murdered person usually rises to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

was used by some of Pete's ancestors. It was brought to the house and thrown in.

Taboos

The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos in general, though they are all regarded as *nuxalx*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yas tmut* or *kits tmut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a user breaks beneath a child or a dance curtain, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yas tmut* and *kits tmut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

Boas Papers Mss. B-1 (1922-1924) 1948
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hanging mats where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

Ceremonialism is an extremely important aspect of Bella Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

Rites connected with the first olachen

At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in handdip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any women to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

[The Dance of Noakenim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukuxtal* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. When ever a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Xww...

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kuxtal* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukuxtal* with a call of:

Nuxtaklap kukuxtal.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Awitkwalaxs* is prepared for every *kuxtal* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Nuskyum*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukuxtal* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he hands their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukuxtal* by name and says:

"For *Nuskyum*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xww*...

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ..... Any *kwiat* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nuxwitlap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kwiat* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practise their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kwiat* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kokwiat* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

The next day, the *twenty-sixth* of the ceremony, is quiet. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *kokwiat* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily.

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, eastwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came.

FIG. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks.

In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different.

2:McIlwraith K-5 (1913-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Dance of Wita]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *Sekaiai* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[*] On the morning of the fourth day,[**] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and does the usual *Sekaiai* customs. A herald then invites the *Sekaiai* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his arms as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *Sekaiai* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[***] As X enters, all the *Sekaiai* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drum. Without delay, and without attention to the tireless thumping, X begins to dance, supervise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out inconsistently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

[*] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whose the reader is referred.

[**] It is probable that X must first lie down when Hoskyn's dancer reports that the moon is at the mouth of the river.

[***] It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bilacoola NE6

the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had emerged.

Awunuxkum. Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alpenium* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snung. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kulaxiat* women drone. Several masked figures accompany the *Snung* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Axa'lindzais* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo her remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snung* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Hamkus. This supernatural, mythical denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with thdinguine is usually almost three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 6).[1] It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A gymnast, and such is always chosen to represent this creature, ends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and passes like a bird wholistening and half crouched. Next he runs a few steps, in a circling manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately goes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kulaxiat* accompany the scene, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Axa'lindzais* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *hamkus* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kulaxiat*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Alwaiilanem. This is the supernatural herald for Thunder, the leading *kulaxiat* among supernatural kings. He wears

[1] [see cat entry 116, p 164 (1) - Analyst]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Thunder]

with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *Ixdaxiut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ano'kkwulxaic* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ano'kkwulxaic*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Xuo* ...."

The call of *xuo* ... is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *Ixdaxiut* women present at once drums, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEh Bellacoola NEh

714- and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[1] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for
901 a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
703 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
[242] authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[539] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *ar'ala* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
726 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at
● 789 intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[1] Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

2:34:Ellsworth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would tip back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dried and undyed cedar-bark which was stowed in the bow of the canoe. During the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed themselves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Tsimshian NE15

the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Tsuit*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his protégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the return to life of *Tsuit*.[1]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkeata so disheartened the Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became ever bolder than before. As usual, the Kimsquit and Tallio people suffered more than the inhabitants of the main valley. On one of these forays, about 1835, the Kitkeata killed *Sukwaulait*, a brother of *Pasko*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Pasko*, *Nukkumkum* of Fort Rupert, or *Tsakus* himself. The loss of such chiefs was enough to protract these savage during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Seven women paused, and returned to *Nuxalk* with news that the occupants were Kitkeata, and that *Tsakus* himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party; others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were answered, not with bullets, but by the four cross holding shirts of a mountain-goat, a sign of friendly intentions. If the avengers had fired on the armor, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

[1] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the southerners were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Tsuit* was found on a mountain, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

Jv Smith. E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEA Bellacoola NEA

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets for the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries, and all deal at the white men's stores.

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated at one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and its products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the farthest west, but the Bellacoolas were nevertheless to a certain extent. The art of the area was first known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and houses. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted this coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction. 114 121

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Moody, born about 1868, both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie Mack told of the toad. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stonnique, were told in English. 115 [141] [191]

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible. 114 121

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas. 114 115

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin. 787 ● 791

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong man; curing lung trouble; making the river ends where wanted; and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing of craziness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves; a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper, and with lost pieces of thimble berry shoots which were accidentally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest; a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead wood-rat; a dead mouse; a grizzly bear's skin; a living red squirrel with a bit of spruce fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but Jenkes said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Jenkes held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor men danced.

A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed, if the warm flanks of a recently dead beaver were applied to her. The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two cuts around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold, the patient supectorated in something and some one secretly mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEB Bellecomb NEB

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out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schonner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft.

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place.

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Jenken is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

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Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child.

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

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To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1897. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Jenken, had seen her. This example of sympathetic

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEb Bellecreek NEb
Carrier NE7

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not as well observed by the Bellecreeks as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian smoking himself with a bunching fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and likewise of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Klemilkats. It is said to be common at Ulkatcho, but that it was unknown and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (Dictyopteran), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Tchem, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (Cercopidae), is said